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These adaptations of baby-words as terms to express relationship are not without bearing, I think, on Professor Kroeber's contention¹ that modes of using terms of relationship are conditioned not by social causes but by causes purely linguistic and psychological. Undoubtedly such forms as *mama*, *papa*, *dada*, come into existence only because they are sounds which young children pronounce easily and therefore frequently and distinctly, and they become kinship terms only because they are appropriated as such by adult relatives; and to this extent they are "determined primarily by linguistic factors." But the assignment of these words in various languages as names to particular relatives and classes of relatives is another matter. The few examples quoted in this paper are enough to dispose of any "purely psychological" explanation.

As Tylor suggested forty years ago,² if *mama* in one language means 'mother' and 'breast' and in another 'uncle,' and *tata* means 'father' in one language and in another 'good-bye,' the application can scarcely be determined by "inherent expressiveness." It is plainly a question of household familiarity—of residence; the easiest and earliest baby-words are appropriated to the relatives who see the baby most often. In other words, the usage is determined by social causes. For example, in the European "family" system,³ based on the father-mother-and-child home, the easy labial forms *m*—*m* and *p*—*p* are appropriated to the child's own mother and father: 'Chiamo papa à chi me da pane.' And, in European family life, what does an infant know of its mother's mother's brother or even of its mother's brother? But in the "clan" system of the Hano-Tewa, based on the home-life of a matrilinear clan household with matrilineal marriage, it is not surprising that the easy labial forms *papa* and *mæmæ* should be assigned to important members of the mother's clan.

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LINGUAL CONSONANTS IN INDIA AND NORWAY

STUDENTS of philology and phonetics recognize a class of consonants in the languages of India called variously linguals, cacuminals, or cerebrals. The last designation is a mistranslation of the Sanskrit *mūrdhanya*

¹ *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst. Gl. Brit.*, 1909, XXXIX, 77.

² Tylor, *op. cit.*

³ Dr Rivers (*Kinship and Social Organisation*, 1914, pp. 71, 82) suggests a three-fold division into "family," "kindred" and "clan" systems in place of the two-fold division into "descriptive" and "classificatory."

(literally, 'head sounds'), "thoughtlessly repeated by many Sanskrit scholars," to quote Max Müller, "and retained by others on the strange ground that the mistake is too absurd to mislead anybody" (*Science of Language*, London, 1899, II, p. 157). These sounds are uttered with the tip of the tongue turned up and drawn back so that the lower surface is brought against the dome of the palate. Such are the Sanskrit *t*, *ṭh*, *ḍ*, *ḍh*, and *ṇ*. This type of consonants is peculiar to the languages of India, at least they do not appear to be found in any Aryan or Indo-European language outside of India, with one exception. This exception is of special personal interest to the present writer, as it happens to be found in his ancestral speech, the rural dialect of the "east country" or interior of southeastern Norway. There occur lingual *d*, *t*, *n*, *r*, and *l*. These are popularly known as "thick l." Thus both of these lines of a popular saying have lingual terminations:

"Regner og skinner solen
Er det fineste veiret paa jorden."

(Literally, "Rains and shines the sun is the finest weather on the earth.")

Special study has been made of the origin and distribution of the lingual or cerebral consonants in India by the later Rev. L. O. Skrefsrud, head of the Scandinavian Mission to the Santals, who came from the "east country" of Norway, and therefore recognized in them familiar sounds of his native dialect. He was a scholar of distinguished attainments in both European and Asiatic languages, honored by English and Indian institutions and societies.

The Santals are a division of the Munda or Kols, also known as Kolarians, who form a distinct linguistic stock, though racially they appear to be of mixed origin. Negroid, Mongolian, and Caucasian characteristics are found among them, the last being the most prevalent. Tribes of Munda speech formed an element of the aboriginal population of India, before the arrival of the Aryan-speaking people. They were formerly spread over the plains of Bengal, but are now restricted to the hills and jungles between Upper and Lower Bengal, the Chota Nagpore plateau, and from the Ganges to about 18° N. lat. (see Keane, *Man Past and Present*, p. 558). The Santals give their name to the district of Santal Parganas. The prevalence of Caucasian physical traits among the Santals and kindred peoples indicates that extensive mixture has taken place between the aborigines and the Aryan immigrants, and there are also evidences of reciprocal cultural influences. Dr Skrefsrud holds that this aboriginal type of language has had great influence on Sanskrit

and its descendants, the Aryan languages of modern India. The lingual consonants, with which we are here concerned, are found also in Santāli, and it is the opinion of this authority that their presence in Sanskrit is the result of borrowing or imitation, that they were not originally Aryan phonetic elements (*Prædikener og Foredrag*, Minneapolis, 1896, pp. 143 sq.). Their occurrence in Norwegian dialect presents an interesting phonological problem. It need hardly be said that the writer is not endeavoring to lay the foundation for a theory of linguistic transmission between India and Norway, after the manner of the author who cited the presence of *ṣ* in a certain Old-world language as proof that the Mexican aborigines originated in that particular region of the Eastern Hemisphere.

It may be mentioned here that the excellent volume entitled *The Folklore of the Santal Parganas* (London, 1910), which bears on its cover and title-page the name of the English translator, Mr C. H. Bompas, of the Indian Civil Service, is a product of many years' painstaking and scholarly work by Dr Skrefsrud and his coadjutor and successor, the Rev. O. Bodding. A large part of the material contained in the book was previously published in Norwegian in this country and in Scandinavia.

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SCIENCE NOTES FROM IRELAND

By the death of Dr Patrick Weston Joyce at his home in Rathmines, County Dublin, on January 7, 1914, at the ripe age of nearly 87 years, Ireland loses one of her most devoted sons and her most profound interpreter since the passing of O'Donovan and O'Curry more than half a century ago. Doctor Joyce first saw the light in 1827 in the little village of Glenosheen ("Glen of Oisín"), County Limerick, almost under the shadow of the historic Galtees and in the center of a district where the old life and language were well kept up to within a recent period. Born under the Penal Laws, when education was proscribed and the school-master outlawed, he lived to become, under the kindlier working of a more enlightened policy, a chief factor in the educational upbuilding of his native country. His first teaching was in the "hedge schools," sometimes in the open air under the shelter of a roadside hedge, but more often in the cabin kitchen of his mother, with the rest of the pupils, study and recitation going on amidst the noise and confusion of the household routine. The teacher himself might be a graduate of Paris or Salamanca. Wherever the class held, young Joyce was always a welcome part of it,